

[The following speech is contributed by a member of the Opposition Party.]

Demonstration in Washington.

GEN. LOGAN'S SPEECH.

Soldiers, read the words of a great soldier and leader:

After referring to the fact that at the end of the war all the country was united in the demand that treason should be made odious and traitors punished, he proceeded as follows:

But how now is it? How changed is the scene to-day! The curtain has been raised, and our eyes have been permitted to behold something most magnificent and grand. Instead of seeing treason made odious and traitors punished in this land, instead of seeing men on their knees to this great Government, giving an humble submission to its laws, kissing the flag of the Republic, that they may show their devotion to it hereafter—we find them traversing the land and talking about their rights and their privileges, and the "d-d Yankees." They come up to Washington and go about the streets free and happy, and swagging as if they were possessors of the whole land. They are cheered. Oh! they are great men; they fought bravely; they are the gallant sons of America—Columbia's sons—having the same rights and privileges that any freeman of this land can enjoy or possess. When they get to the great city of Baltimore a great feast is prepared for them. They come to Washington, and the great Stephens dictates at once the next Democratic platform, that you shall not ask any conditions precedent for the reception of the Senators and Representatives of the States lately in rebellion, and when he dictates that platform here it is accepted not only by those in high authority and power, but it goes down tracing along the different grades until it comes to the lowest man you can find in the whole land who holds a paper in his hand upon which is written, "You shall hold this during my pleasure." It seems to me there has been a change in this land within the past year. I have remarked that loyal people did not agree to this proposition during the rebellion.

The Executive who now occupies the chair of the Chief Magistrate asserted as his desire that "treason should be made odious and traitors punished." He wanted traitors to be made to "take a back seat." He wanted to be a "Moses," to lead a down-trodden race from the darkness of slavery and chains to the promised land. He wanted them to follow him, and promised them that he would lead them through the great Red Sea of their travels and difficulties. All these things were going to be done, but I can't see it. (Great laughter and cheers.)

I do not see this Moses leading the hosts as did Moses of old out of the darkness of Egyptian bondage and through the Red Sea. I see no such attempt as that. I think the man has lost his way; that his compass has got out of order; that he has steered his course wrong, and that he is at the head of somebody else than the men he is going to lead out. It seems to me the power he was going to exercise for the benefit of a certain people has been changed to the benefit of certain rebels. They are his true followers, wading through the Red Sea of trials and tribulations, and they are to be landed in the happy land of Canaan, I suppose.

My fellow-citizens, as I do not intend to talk very long I will for a few moments tell you what I think is the duty of our country. I was glad to hear that dispatch read. I was glad to hear that voice come from Tennessee, for it is the voice of patriotism. It is a voice that speaks for the loyal men of that country—a voice that has been heard recently and frequently in advocacy of their interest. Once we heard another voice from that State, saying that representation must be based on loyalty—that the loyalty of the people must be based on representation. We heard that once from a man then in power in Tennessee. We heard later of a letter signed by some process or other, I do not know what. I do not know under what law or rule of Government or Constitution, and sent to the Congress of the United States, notifying them that somebody was opposed to that amendment of the Constitution. (Laughter.) Well, suppose somebody is. I can find a hundred thousand rebels who are opposed to it too. That's what's the matter. (Laughter.) I can find every rebel in the land who is opposed to it and every Copperhead in the land. Every man who was in arms against the Government during the four years of bloody battle is opposed to that amendment to the Constitution. (Cries of "That's so," and applause.) It is not necessary for any particular man to notify us that he is opposed to the amendment, for, as I have said, the disloyal men all over the country are opposed to it. But we hear a voice from Tennessee that is not opposed to it. They no longer harken to the voice of their Moses. (Laughter and cheers.) Tennessee has refused to accept any self-constituted Moses. They are going to lead themselves out of bondage. And I am glad to-night that the voice comes trembling upon the wires from Nashville to Washington, saying, "The deed is done." The act has been performed, and the wish of the loyal people of Tennessee has been expressed. It is in accordance with the voice of the majority of the Representatives of the people of this great country, and not in accordance with the voice of the misrepresentatives of the people of this great country. We are told, however, and in fact the loyal people of this country are told, "Why, gentlemen, you are going to destruction! Don't you know your party is going to be destroyed? Don't you know that there is such a will and determination of the men now in power that that will destroy this Radical organization, as they call it—that it will be swept out of existence?" It is the men who obey the laws at present, no matter what they may have done during the terrible struggle through which they have passed, that are now to be considered as loyal men. It is those who obey the dictates of men in high power, contrary to the voice of the Union majority of this nation, who are to be regarded as the loyal men, while the men who opposed this rebellion and sustained the Government are to be looked upon as disloyal men, scouted from society, and driven from all positions of honor. We are told that all this will be done by the powers that be; that there is a power in this man something like the power of Jackson. They say there is a man in this country who is walking in the footsteps of Jackson. Well, there may be. There may be a great many Jacksons in the land. There may be a great many men as great as Jackson was; a great many men who have as strong a will as Jackson had. There's no question about that. But if I read history right, and I

believe I have some recollection of the days of Jackson, I find that Jackson always fought his enemies and that his friends always stood by him. I find that when Jackson vetoed a man he vetoed his enemy and not his friend. I find, by looking on a little while, that Jackson died. I have not heard of any other Jackson since that was ever President of the United States. (Great laughter.) I do not think this consideration should trouble us. We have something before us upon which to form our judgments and opinions without looking to the opinion of any one individual.

Referring to the Philadelphia Convention he said:

This assemblage, which is to meet in a few days, is not to destroy the Copperhead party, for that is already destroyed; it is not for the purpose of suppressing the rebellion, for that is already suppressed. What then, is it for? It is for the purpose of destroying the organization of the Union party of this country, and for no other purpose whatever. You will find the Copperhead there; you will find the disappointed officer seeking there; the hungry and thirsty Republican who has been thirsting for the waters that spring from the fountains of office about this capital for long years, and who has never had a drop to cool his parched tongue, and who goes there for the purpose of crying, "Oh, Lazarus, for one drop!" (Boisterous laughter and cheers.) You will find, perhaps, a few officers of the army going over there to prove their loyalty to the country. Well! those who go there to prove their loyalty to the country, believe that the country belongs to one man; this, must, therefore, prove their loyalty to him, and not to the Government. They will meet there some of the leaders of the lowlands of the South, for whose treason they fought upon the bloody fields of the South. You will find there the Copperhead who spat upon you while you were fighting for the flag of your country, who spat upon the flag, who treated you with the utmost contempt, and they are there for the purpose of destroying the organization that saved the country.

We hear vague rumors that there is to be another Congress installed in violation of law. You hear people telling what they are going to do. Whenever that revolution commences, unlike the other, the voice of the American people will be heard and their arms will be felt. It may rock the pillars of the Republic once more, but the end will be that its head will come off. Treason will then be made odious and traitors will be punished. (Shouts of applause.) Revolution has been free for four years in the past, and it may occur in the future. We have a duty which we owe to our country. Let us perform that duty, and I believe the best manner in which that duty can be performed is by sustaining Congress in what they have done. Let us select loyal men, honest men, faithful men as our leaders. And so let us go forward in the old ship until she rests in the harbor of safety forever. And this great monument of liberty that has been erected by the American people, washed by the blood of three hundred thousand men, towering until the nations of the earth gaze upon its beauty, its glory, its grandeur, and receive their inspiration from it. (Applause.)

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for your attention.

GREAT SPEECH

—OF—

HON. GEORGE H. PENDLETON.

—DELIVERED AT—

READING, PA., JULY 18, 1866.

—TO AN—

Immense Democratic Mass Meeting.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: When I received the invitation of your committee to be present with you to-day, I was impelled by an almost irresistible impulse to accept it. I had enjoyed the hospitality of your beautiful city; I had sat side by side in Congress with your faithful and able Representatives for many years in dark and perilous times—with Jones, McKentick, and Ancona. I had known most agreeably your worthy candidate for Governor. I desired once more to renew those agreeable associations. But far more did I desire to see the Democrats of Berk county—those Democrats whose renown is as extensive as the Union—those Democrats who have been enabled, throughout a storm of obloquy and contumely and reproach unparalleled in political warfare, to adhere with unflinching fidelity and unblanching courage to a party whose principles they believed would secure life to the Government and liberty to the people. (Loud cheers.) I had attended a thousand Democratic meetings in the West. I knew the tone and temper and spirit of the party there. I wished to know it as well here. I love the Democratic party; I admire its discipline and organization; I honor the name and fame of its founders. I revere its principles, so broad in their application, so beneficent in their influence, that in all this broad land, dissevered as the States have been, as they still are, there is not a State, nor county, nor township, nor town, nor neighborhood, nor family, nor house in which it has not a representative and member. (Cheers.) I knew I would find here disciples

of the same faith—believing in the same creed—and I desired, with you, to worship at a common altar, that I might catch the inspiration of your pure faith, and be warmed by the fervor of your unkindled zeal. And so I accepted the invitation; and I came to-day, though to do so I was obliged to leave some true New England Democrats in Boston last night. I am glad I have come. This meeting shows that your zeal, and vigor, and courage are unimpaired; and fills me with renewed hope for the future. It shows that whoever else may fail, Berk county will do her duty to the country. (Cheers.)

In my own State, in my own city, we have several Republican newspapers, which delight to tell us that the Democratic party is dead. We try to convince them to the contrary; we hold our conventions, make our nominations, conduct campaigns, poll two hundred thousand votes, scare them always [laughter], beat them sometimes, and yet each day more positively than the day before, they tell us that the Democratic party is dead, and the disease of which it died. They will learn if they live long enough, that it can never absolutely die so long as government shall last; that in this country it will maintain its vigor so long as the States shall have free government, and the Union shall be a confederation; for in the States, it is the party of the people against power; in the Union, it is the party of confederation against consolidation. It has always been so.

In the discussions which preceded the convention to form the Constitution in that convention itself, in the conventions in the several States, in the early administrations two different and opposing theories were advocated by able and patriotic men. The one insisted that the country should be a unity, and that the government should be strong and centralized—the other maintained that the general offices of government should be performed by the States, and as little duty and power as possible should be confided to the Federal Union. In the convention, there were extreme views and extreme men on both sides. The extreme men gave up the work—Hamilton left the convention; Luther Martin refused to sign the Constitution—the extreme views were toned down by the prudence and moderation of Washington, Franklin and Madison, and the Constitution was the result—that Constitution which has given us for seventy years prosperity and liberty; that Constitution which, by its origin at the hands of these men whom I have named, by its beneficent influences, became sacred to all American citizens, till the fanatics of our day dragged it from its high place and degraded it in the mire of their partisan schemes. (Loud cheers.)

The opposing forces gathering strength during the administration of Washington, but they were held in check by the power which he possessed. They met in fierce collision in the term of Mr. Adams. The Democratic sentiment could not be neutral in that struggle. It was, indeed, the chief combatant. It emerged victorious in the election of Mr. Jefferson, and brought with it a compact, vigorous, disciplined organization to support its policy and opinions. Our Democratic party is that party, and it insists to-day as it insisted then, that these fundamental maxims of political science are applicable to our Government at all times, in every emergency, and never more applicable than to-day in this crisis of our history—that government is best which governs the least—that confederation is best which leaves the greatest possible amount of power with the constituent States, and confides the least possible power to the federal head—that all just government derives its power from the consent of the governed—that taxation without representation is tyranny—that all the States in the Union are equal—not in territory and population nor wealth, but in duties, in rights, in powers granted and powers reserved—and that, therefore, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania have no more constitutional power or moral right to govern Georgia and Mississippi than have Georgia and Mississippi to govern Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. (Cheers.) Yet this is the claim that is made to-day. It is, no less than this—it touches the very foundation and organization of the Gov-

ernment. It goes to its essence and spirit.

What is the great question, I do not say principle, of to-day? Shall the Southern States be represented in Congress? Around this question is grouped every other question which the war has raised—and by the principle on which it is decided will every other question be determined. The President says that they are entitled to representation—that they have resumed their normal and harmonious relation to the Union. The Democratic party asserts the same position. The Republican party, speaking by its leaders in Congress, says that although they are at peace with the Union, they shall not be represented till they buy the enjoyment of that right by consenting to amendments of the Constitution which the Southern people loathe from the bottom of their hearts, and will never yield to except by coercion. (Cheers.)—This is the question remitted to the people for decision—and upon their decision depend peace and order, and the perpetuation of the Government, or discontent, disorder, revolution and anarchy—despotism. Is not this true? If these States are not entitled to representation in Congress, they are not entitled to vote in the electoral college. If they are not permitted to vote in 1868, and their vote combined with that of either party at the North would elect a President, will that party submit to the decision?—Will it consent that the whole country should be defeated by a known and acknowledged minority, and if it will not submit, will there not be disorder, turbulence, probably war?

Why should not these States be represented? Pennsylvania and Ohio are represented. Why not Virginia? Ohio recognizes the supremacy of the Federal Government within the Constitution, so does Virginia. Ohio obeys the Federal laws; so does Virginia. There is not an armed enemy in the Confederate States. There is not a show of opposition to Federal authority; not even so much as a shadow when it declineth. The Confederate Government is dissolved; the ordinances of secession are abrogated; the old Constitutions are set aside, new ones are established; the old State Governments are displaced, new ones are in their stead. The old officers have been expelled; new ones have been elected. The States are performing all the functions necessary to the maintenance of civil society; they preserve order, punish crime, protect life and property, collect debts, enforce contracts, regulate the relations of man and wife, father and child, guardian and ward; they regulate the descent and distribution of real and personal estate; they charter cities and colleges; they exercise the right of eminent domain, build railroads, and establish common schools. Why should they not be represented? Ohio pays Federal taxes; so does Virginia. A tax-gatherer rides every county; a custom-house officer is at every port. Virginia took up arms against the Federal Government; alas! she did. Seduced by the advice of fanatics of the South; goaded by the acts of not less wicked fanatics at the North; unwisely she took up arms to resist the execution of Federal laws. But when you sounded the tocsin of war, and called upon the people to maintain their Constitution, their Government, you told them that so soon as Federal laws were obeyed the war should cease, and it should leave the States with their rights, their powers, their equality unimpaired. (Cheers.) Ohio is a free State, so is Virginia; Ohio protects negroes in every civil right, so does Virginia. But, but!—but what, my friend? Out with it. Virginia does not permit negroes to vote. Neither does Ohio, nor Indiana, nor Illinois, nor Iowa, nor Wisconsin, nor Pennsylvania, nor Delaware, nor New Jersey, nor Connecticut, nor New Hampshire, nor New York, nor California, nor Oregon, nor Colorado; and if this is a reason, why are not those States excluded?

It is a fundamental maxim that the States in the Union are equal—not equal in territory, or wealth, or numbers, but equal in duties, in rights, in powers. They were sovereigns, and as such were equal before the Union. They each, as sovereign, come into the Union. They delegated the same powers; they agreed to perform the same

duties. They guaranteed each to the other the enjoyment of the same rights. Representation is the most important right. Ohio enjoys it, why not Virginia? The Southern States are in the Union or they are out of it. If they are in the Union, they are equal to Ohio, and entitled to representation. If they are out of the Union, the claim to govern them at all is a fraud and a usurpation. (Cheers.) They entered the Union by passing an ordinance adopting and ratifying the Federal Constitution. They tried to dissolve that connection by abrogating that ratification. The abrogating ordinance was the act of secession. Either it was valid or it was invalid. If invalid, it was null, it had no effect; it did not effect the State; it did not effect the tie which bound it to the Union. It left the State in the same position in which it had been for a month, for a year before the act of secession. If it was valid, it destroyed the Union and removed the State beyond the Constitution, beyond your power. I reject the claim that these ordinances are valid for one purpose, invalid for another—valid to destroy the State, invalid to dissolve the Federal tie. It is the fanciful creation of a disordered brain, or the arbitrary dictation of a man who will have things as he wishes them.

I understand the position of Mr. Stevens and those who follow him. He believes that either the ordinance of secession or the attempt to enforce it by arms, constituted the South in effect a foreign power—alien enemies; that we had good cause of war against them, and did in fact wage the war for subjugation and conquest; that having subjugated, and conquered them, we hold them subject to our will; that so far as they are concerned their rights and our powers are determined by the laws of nations alone, and no question of the Constitution can be raised except by the adhering States. I understand the position of Mr. Johnson and the war Democrats. They hold that the ordinances of secession were invalid; that whoever attempted by force of arms to make them available were traitors; that their unlawful acts do not effect the statutes of State, or of its law-abiding people; that they may be punished, but that the State remains the same. (Cheers.) But I cannot understand the thimble-ring logic of these half-way gentlemen, that the ordinances of secession are half valid, half invalid; that the States are in the Union to be governed, out of it to be protected; in the Union when duties are required, out of it when rights are to be accorded; in the Union when taxes are to be exacted, out of it when representation is demanded.

Why should they not be represented? This representation is essential to the restoration of the Union. Why was the war prosecuted? For the maintenance of the Union. Love of the Union was the sentiment which lay at the very heart of our people. It had grown and strengthened, and become fixed by the attempts at disunion of the Hartford Convention and the nullification of South Carolina. It was this that made strong men volunteer, and matrons and maidens and wives to consent that son and husband and lover should volunteer. It was this that made the North yield armed men as if from her soil. Mr. Lincoln, in his inaugural messages, told us the war was for the Union; Congress, in the most solemn form, reiterated it. Mr. Seward, after two years of the war, told us that the seats of Senators and members were vacant, and their open arms, with silent eloquence, inviting the States and the people to return to the blessings and duties of the Constitution. Your arms have been successful; not an armed enemy withstands you; they ask admittance to take their seats. Why is not the Union restored? Why do those who have clamored for the Union refuse it? Why do those who have urged others to fight for Union prevent it?

Gentlemen: It is because they deceived you and their friends. They never were for the Union. Thaddeus Stevens was honest enough to say so. He said in my hearing that with his consent the Union should never be restored. These men hate the Constitution of the United States. They hate our form of government; and they know the most effective stab they

could give it—the most fatal blow—would be the attempt to govern one half of the country without representation.

I speak of men whom I know; men with whom I have served in public life. I do not impeach their intelligence, or patriotism, or sincerity; but I repeat, I believe they hate our Constitution, and desire its overthrow. They believe consolidation is better than confederation. They prefer to trust their liberties and the liberties of the race to an overpowering irresponsible majority rather than to one orderly process established under the checks and balances of our system. (Cheers.)

Consider the Constitutional Amendment. Congress insisted upon its adoption as a condition precedent to the admission of Senators and Representatives. If it were entirely desirable, if nobody objected or could object to any of its provisions, still it ought not to be proposed. If the States are entitled to representation, the adoption of this amendment ought not to be exacted. If they are not entitled, the refusal of the right is the highwayman's course, who seizes you by the throat and agrees to release his hold if you will give him your purse. In vain you assert that you are entitled both to your freedom and your money. You buy one admitted right by the surrender of another. If they are not entitled, the proposal to confer it is the device of the devil, who eagerly offered the kingdoms of the earth and the glory thereof, which he didn't possess, if only his black majesty could be worshipped. But what is this amendment?

Every person born within the United States shall be citizens thereof, and of the State wherein he resides. Citizens of the State! That the Constitution left to each State; so entirely left it there that voters by the law of the State were expressly made electors for federal officers. No State shall impair the privileges and immunities! Where are they defined? Where written? The Constitution has already put each citizen of each State upon the same footing as citizens of the several States.

Representation shall be apportioned according to population, but if any male person over twenty-one years of age shall be excluded from the ballot-box, the representative basis shall be diminished by these in proportion as the males excluded bear to all the males of twenty-one years in this State. The former proposition was to exclude from the basis all of any race or color, if by reason of race or color they were excluded from the right of suffrage. That could not stand a moment. By it the States might exclude the young, the old, the poor, the ignorant, the soldier; and if they were only white, the other electors might vote for them; but if they excluded the negro, his whole race was to be excluded from the representative basis. How much better is this amendment? All the people are to be enumerated also. If the males are as ten to one—and any male is excluded from the right of voting, then ten persons shall be stricken from the basis. If in Pennsylvania lunatics were not allowed to vote, then ten persons for every lunatic would go unrepresented. If in Pennsylvania there were ten thousand negro men over 21 years of age, then 100,000 men, women and children, white as well as black, would be without representation. I say nothing of its operation on the Southern States; will you be willing here to adopt it? But the cunning of its authors is apparent here, for by this scheme New England gets two members of Congress, while the other Northern and Western States lose twelve; more than they would by the other plan. Nor is it really an honest scheme to secure to the negro the right of voting, for this and every other plan suggested contemplates that the States may exclude him from the ballot, provided only they will agree to give up the political power which control him in the basis given to them. No gentlemen, the only object of this amendment is to show to the States that they hold even the right of suffrage by the will and at the command of the Federal Government, and thus to bring their most vital rights entirely within its control.

Consider the Freedmen's Bureau bill. Its object was not to protect the negro; that was done by the old law. If it ex-

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